

3 July 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Walter N. Elder

Walt:

1. I have talked to the DCI-designate about the papers which Mr. Ranney gave to [] asking for guidance on whether they could be included in the Dulles bequest to Princeton. The papers in question are a letter dated January 7, 1964, from Mr. Dulles to President Truman and a memorandum to me from Mr. Dulles dated April 21, 1964, describing Mr. Dulles' visit to President Truman on April 17, 1964. Both of these have to do with Mr. Dulles' attempt to set straight the record on the Agency's involvement in countering Communist subversive action and quotations attributed to President Truman on this subject in The Washington Post of December 22, 1963.

2. As to the letter of January 7th, while my copy indicates it was signed by Mr. Dulles, it is my best recollection that he told me he had decided not to send it, and [] is inclined to agree, although he has no definite recollection on this point. The memorandum to me of April 21st is, I believe, technically Government property, and Mr. Ranney should be so informed. However, I suggested to Mr. Colby that there was nothing in this memorandum which at this time could be considered properly classified, and he agreed. Therefore, Mr. Ranney should be informed that there is no objection to its inclusion in the Dulles papers as an unclassified Government document and that the memorandum and the letter may be sent to Princeton if the Dulles family is so inclined.

3. Mr. Colby is also anxious that the Truman Library have this material. It might be well to determine whether indeed the letter was sent and if so whether the Truman Library has made it available on an unclassified basis and to assure that the Truman Library has a copy of the memorandum of April 21st.



Lawrence R. Houston

Attachments

7 Jan 64 Ltr

21 Apr 64 Memo

OGC:LRH:jeb

OGC chrono

✓ subject Records

STA

January 7, 1964

PERSONAL

The Honorable Harry S. Truman
Independence
Missouri

Dear Mr. Truman:

I am deeply appreciative of the kind comments on my book on "The Craft of Intelligence" in your letter of November 19. The book is having a far better sale than I had anticipated. It makes no pretense of being a "thriller".

A few days ago I read in The Washington Post (December 22, 1963) your article of the 21st; and subsequently I noted an editorial in the Post of December 28, of which I enclose a copy. I would not be candid if I did not tell you that I was deeply disturbed by the concluding paragraphs of your article.

I thoroughly agree with your basic premise that the primary mission of CIA is to provide the President with the intelligence which he requires in the formulation and guidance of our foreign policy. This should be done faithfully and fearlessly. Nothing should be allowed to divert the Agency from fulfilling this function, which you had primarily in mind when you sought and obtained the CIA legislation in the 1947 National Security Act, as so well described in your book; and thereby you became in many senses the "father" of our modern intelligence system. The country owes you a great debt of

gratitude for this as one of the many important accomplishments of your years as President. I respectfully differ, however, from what you have written toward the conclusion of this article, particularly what you say about CIA being injected into peacetime cloak and dagger operations and your admonition that CIA should terminate "its operational duties", which you suggest are "sometimes akin to a subverting influence in the affairs of other people"; also I differ with your comment that CIA has become "at times a policy-making arm of the government".

To you belongs the lasting credit of having enunciated in 1947 the Truman Doctrine: the first official and public recognition of the grave dangers of Communist subversive action against free governments. You will also recall that about a year after the Truman Doctrine declaration of April 1947, you also were the first to take stock of the fact that the Communist subversive threat could not be met solely by the overt type of assistance which you were able to render to the beleaguered countries of Greece and Turkey. This peril was evidenced by events early in 1948, with the take-over of Czechoslovakia by secret subversion, the Communist threat to Italian independence in the elections of 1948, and the communizing of Poland, Hungary and the other "Satellite" countries. It was then, in June 1948, that you, through National Security Council action, approved the organization within CIA of a new office to carry out covert operations directed against secret Communist subversion.

It was provided in the NSC directive that these covert activities of the CIA should be subject to appropriate policy and guidance at the highest level, including also State and Defense. At that time long and careful consideration was given to where these covert functions should be located and how the work should be carried out. You then

determined, and I believe wisely determined, that CIA, which already had certain secret functions in the intelligence-gathering field and secret funds appropriated by the Congress, was the appropriate place in government where this function of coping with secret Communist subversion should be placed.

The administrations which followed your own, re-affirmed the need for this type of activity. While the charter that you initially gave the CIA in this field has been slightly modified over the years by NSC action, it remains substantially as you had approved it. It was during 'Beedle' Smith's directorship and again under your directive that the responsibility of the Director of Central Intelligence for covert operations was established, subject of course to the high policy guidance it has always had and to which it has faithfully adhered, despite newspaper reports to the contrary.

Despite the co-existence formula of Khrushchev, there is no evidence that the Communists have abandoned their policy of "wars of liberation", which Khrushchev, in his dramatic speech of January 6, 1961, so clearly defined. I feel sure that you are in basic agreement with me on this point and also that the need exists today, as it did fifteen years ago, to continue operations to combat Communist subversion.

I do not believe that these operations, as your article suggests, present any danger to our free institutions so long as they are subject to high policy guidance. These institutions would indeed be endangered if we did not strive to meet the Communist threat and attempt to ferret out and to counter by covert means their attempts at take-over, in those situations where overt operations through State and

Defense cannot for one reason or another be called into play or cannot alone do the job.

Over the years since 1948 when this program was initiated by you, there have been a whole series of quiet successes and a certain number of publicized failures. Throughout this period the Soviets have endeavored by every form of attack to drive us out of the business of countering their subversive operations. Unfortunately here and there the press, which inherently dislikes what they are not told about, have voiced disapproval. I feel sure that if I had an opportunity of describing to you, point by point, what has been accomplished since your approval of this program, you would have reason to be proud of your initiative in this field. To destroy the expertise which has been developed over the last decade and a half since 1948, to try to re-institute this work somewhere else - and no one can suggest where else to do it - would, I fear, seriously prejudice our national security.

In Chapter XV of my book "The Craft of Intelligence", which deals with the role of intelligence in the cold war, I have outlined my views on this subject insofar as I felt this highly secret matter could be publicly discussed. I would welcome an opportunity to give you further details which I could not put in my book or write in this letter and give you my own experience covering the decade of the 50s. Others are more competent than I to deal with the last two years since I retired from the Agency. From what I know of this, I feel sure there has been no major change either in the method of operations or in the strict policy controls to which they are subordinated. In fact, President Kennedy, on October 9, 1963, a few weeks before his tragic death, at a public press conference re-affirmed his confidence in CIA. In reply to a question regarding alleged CIA "independent" operations in

Vietnam, President Kennedy said "I can find nothing - and I've looked through the record very carefully over the last nine months, and I could go back further - to indicate that the CIA had done anything but support policy." The full text of the question and answer is attached.

I have written you with great candor and with complete frankness. The subject is one on which I have strong feelings. I can say equally frankly that I feel that there are parts of your article of December 21 which might be interpreted as a repudiation of a policy which you had the great courage and wisdom to initiate fifteen years ago.

With deep respect and appreciation for all the confidence you have extended to me, I remain

Faithfully yours,

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Allen W. Dulles

P. S. I expect to be travelling to Dallas (February 3) and to the West Coast in the second week of March. If by any chance, at either time, I could stop by at Independence and pay you my respects, it would be a great pleasure to do so. This would also afford the opportunity to talk over in confidence some points in this letter which, for obvious security reasons, I cannot send by open mail.

Enclosures

1 - CIA detache file
1 - Mr. Helms

April 21, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAWRENCE R. HOUSTON
General Counsel

FROM A. W. DULLES

SUBJECT: Visit to The Honorable Harry S Truman
Friday afternoon, April 17, 2 p.m.

On April 13 I sent a telegram to Mr. Truman that I would be in Kansas City on April 17 and would like to see him if he was free and wished to see me at any time during the day, as my engagement was to make an address in the evening in Kansas City. Within a matter of hours, I had a telephone call from Mr. Truman's secretary, Miss Rose A. Conway, office telephone Clifton 2 3678, home telephone Highland 4 5325, stating that Mr. Truman would be very happy to see me. We agreed upon 2 p.m. at the Truman Library.

Mr. H. A. Mountain and one of his associates kindly motored me from Kansas City to Independence as I found that Mr. Truman was always interested in meeting CIA men, and I felt this was a good opportunity for them to make the contact. We reached the Library a few minutes early and Mr. Truman had not yet returned from lunch. When he came in, he greeted us warmly, and all three of us went into his study in the Library. We had a pleasant talk about CIA work for a few minutes. Then Mr. Mountain and his associate left me (as previously arranged).

After reminiscing a bit about our early meetings in the Library, where I had briefed President Truman on behalf of President Eisenhower on several occasions, we got down to more serious business relating to the problems

Mr. Houston - Page 2

with which the Agency is faced, as I viewed them, as one who is not following the day-to-day work of the Agency but is nevertheless familiar with its problems. I told Mr. Truman that he was one of my heroes for the stand he had taken in the Greek-Turkish situation in 1947 and then in Korea. I told him how much I felt the country owed to him, to his courage and decision; and I told him that I proposed to tell my audience that night how I felt (and I later did so). I said I understood that he was going to celebrate his 80th birthday, and we joked a bit about our respective ages. I may add that I found Mr. Truman more quick and alert than I had been given to believe he would be. He has taken on some weight, obviously slowed down a bit, but he seemed quick and interested.

STA

Mr. Truman followed all this with keen interest, interjected reminiscences of his own, recalled vividly the whole [redacted] as well as the Huk situation. I then showed him the article in The Washington Post of December 22, 1963; which I suggested seemed to me to be a misrepresentation of his position. I pointed out the number of National Security Actions (Action #4 and Action 10-2) which he had taken which dealt with covert operations by the CIA. He studied attentively the Post story and seemed quite astounded at it. In fact, he said that this was all

Mr. Houston - Page 3

wrong. He then said that he felt it had made a very unfortunate impression. He asked me if he could keep the article. I gave it to him and then showed him the memorandum from which I had been developing my points so as to get the dates and operations in accurate relationship. Then he expressed a desire to keep the memorandum. I said that this had several items that he might not wish to keep, including the last page, which I eliminated from the memorandum and attach hereto. I also made one or two changes in the memorandum and said I felt he should mark the memorandum "secret". Mr. Truman said "No, mark it 'top secret'", which I promptly did, and told him how carefully this memorandum should be handled. I asked him to destroy it and not add it to his files even though I knew how many secret papers he had in the Library. (Later I spoke to his personal secretary, Miss Rose Conway and told her to keep her eye on the memorandum and to see that it was in absolutely safe hands until it was destroyed.

Our talk, which lasted about one half hour, was completely friendly. At no time did Mr. Truman express other than complete agreement with the viewpoint I expressed and several times said he would see what he could do about it, to leave it in his hands. He obviously was highly disturbed at The Washington Post article.

As we left and rejoined Mr. Mountain and his associate, he took us into a side room in the Library and showed us with obvious pride the replica of the battleship Missouri, which had just been given to him that very morning.

I told Mr. Truman of my high regard for John McCone, of the high caliber of the men who were working in CIA, and that I thought it was doing an excellent job. I also touched upon the false attacks that had been made upon CIA in connection with the Vietnam situation and President Kennedy's repudiation of these attacks. I would suggest for Mr. McCone's consideration that he might wish to send a message to President Truman on his 80th birthday, which I believe is May 8. There is to be a considerable celebration on that date in Independence, and a message

referring to President Truman in connection with the organization of the CIA would come at a very helpful time. I told him of the important work that his old friend Clark Clifford was doing as Chairman of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board. He seemed very much interested to hear of this.

I cannot predict what will come of all this. It is even possible, maybe probable, that he will do nothing when he thinks it over. He may, of course, consult with those , whoever they are, who induced him to make the original statement. However, I think it would be useful to follow up this approach through Clark Clifford and through the message from Mr. McCone, and possibly in other ways. That, I leave in your hands. I would be glad if you would see to it that this memorandum is seen by Mr. Helms and Mr. Cord Meyer. They can decide what they wish to do in connection with the Director. Of course, this may be made available to him if you and they deem wise.

I return herewith your note to me, including your memorandum to the Director of 3 April 1964 and the last page of Cord Meyer's undated memorandum to me. The Cord Meyer memorandum bears no indication of having come from the CIA. I did not suggest to Mr. Truman that it was other than a working memorandum I had prepared.

AWD

Enclosures

awd:mk
1 - chr
1 - Truman file

Additional background material not fwd to
Mr. Elder per LRHouston. 7/3/73

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NOTE ATTACHED TO MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD DATED 13 JUNE 1967

~~SECRET~~

13 June 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: President Truman's Alleged Remarks About CIA

1. On 9 June 1964, Lt. General Marshall S. Carter, DDCI, accompanied by his assistant, Enno H. Knoche, briefed President Truman at the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri. From his notes which he kept of the meeting, Mr. Knoche has dictated the following extract.

"General Carter opened the meeting by referring to President Johnson's request that President Truman be briefed periodically. President Johnson had wanted to ensure that President Truman was kept up-to-date on the world situation. Mr. Truman expressed great appreciation of this and said it was the nicest thing that any President had done for any ex-President.

"President Truman referred to the great importance of CIA. He said he had been the founder of the Agency and had established it in order to get as total and as objective a view of developments as possible. He said that prior to the establishment of CIA, too much ^{of} importance to the Presidency was kept bottled up in the State and Defense Departments. The primary purpose of the CIA, as he envisaged it, was to collect such information and make it available to the President. General Carter reminded the President of the decisions made during the Truman administration for covert actions in Italy, Greece and Turkey. The President agreed that this had been necessary.

"The session then turned to the text of a formal briefing given to President Truman by General Carter."

Prior to going into see President Truman, General Carter and Mr. Knoche chatted briefly with David Noyes, who had been, I believe, a White House assistant when Truman was President and continued to serve him in various capacities in retirement. Noyes evidently drafts Mr. Truman's statements and articles and admitted quite freely the authorship

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- 2 -

of the Truman article on CIA which was published on 22 December 1963 in various newspapers, including the Washington Post. It is highly doubtful whether President Truman ever saw the article prior to its publication as he was already beginning to age considerably at that time.

Walter Pforzheimer
Curator
Historical Intelligence Collection

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Approved For Release 2004/11/29 : CIA-RDP75-00793R000120024-9

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

Conversation of A. W. Dulles with former President Truman on
Covert Action, 1964

FROM:

Chief, CIA Historical Staff

EXTENSION

NO.

DATE

11 June 1973

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S
INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1.

OGC

7/3/73

LH/MS

Larry,

2.

Chief, CIA Historical
Staff, 203 Key

3.

Mr. W. D. Elders

4.

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15.

Mr. F. G. Ranney, Mrs. Dulles' adviser on the Dulles papers, passed me the original or the two attached documents last week.

The first item is a carbon of a signed letter from Dulles to Truman, 7 Jan 1964, in which Dulles reminds Truman of the various kinds of covert action projects he supported during his administration, but which he had criticized by implication in his Washington Post story in December 1963.

Do your files show whether Dulles actually sent this letter?

The second item is a memo which Dulles sent you on 21 April 1964, following his discussion of 17 April with Truman, during which Truman apparently repudiated the Post story. Dulles refers in this memo to your memo of 3 April and to materials provided by Cord Meyer, none of which I have seen. Could you recall this file and make it available to me?

Finally, may I have your opinion on the advisability of the Dulles family including these two papers in their bequest to Princeton?



STA